

## Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 212399

LIMDIS

FOL REPEAT MOGADISCIO 1469 ACTION SECSTATE INFO ADDIS ABABA  
CAIRO JIDDA KHARTOUM NAIROBI DTD 28 AUG.

QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L MOGADISCIO 1469

LIMDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, PINS, SO, US, ET  
SUBJ: ADDOU/SIAD MEETING: THREE REQUESTS OF US

SUMMARY: AMBASSADOR ADDOU HAS TOLD SIAD THAT US WILL NOT  
RPT NOT PROVIDE ARMS FOR SOMALIA WHILE ETHIOPIAN WAR IN  
PROGRESS. SIAD IN TURN HAS ASKED ADDOU TO SEEK US HELP IN  
THREE ALTERNATIVE WAYS DURING PRESENT ETHIOPIAN CRISIS:  
(A) US HELP IN ENCOURAGING THIRD COUNTRIES (I.E., EGYPT AND  
MOROCCO) TO PROVIDE SOMALIA WITH NON-US ORIGIN ARMS AND SPARE  
PARTS; (B) US STATEMENT OF POLITICAL SUPPORT OBSERVING THAT  
US WOULD NOT VIEW WITH INDIFFERENCE FOREIGN TROOP PRESENCE  
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PAGE 02 STATE 212399

(I.E., CUBAN) IN ETHIOPIA; AND (C) US PROVISION OF TANGIBLE  
MILITARY SUPPORT FOR SNA'S DEFENSE NEEDS AS SOON AS CIRCUMSTANCES  
PERMIT. SIAD WILL CONVOKE ME WITHIN SHORT TIME TO LEARN OF  
WASHINGTON'S RESPONSE TO HIS REQUEST. END SUMMARY.

1. ON AUGUST 26 AMBASSADOR ADDOU BRIEFED ME ON CONVERSATION  
HE HAD WITH PRESIDENT SIAD AUGUST 24 AND 25 FOLLOWING HIS

RETURN FROM WASHINGTON. ADDOU SAID SIAD WAS DEEPLY DIS-APPOINTED THAT ADDOU HAD COME BACK FROM WASHINGTON EMPTY-HANDED. EARLIER SIAD HAD RECEIVED NEGATIVE REPORT FROM TWO-MAN SOMALI DELEGATION WHICH HAD TAKEN ARM-LIST TO WASHINGTON (STATE 188052). DELEGATION HAD RETURNED WEEK EARLIER BUT SIAD HAD HOPED ADDOU'S REMAINING WEEK IN WASHINGTON MIGHT HAVE OBTAINED POSITIVE RESULTS. ADDOU HAD TO TELL HIM THIS WASN'T CASE.

2. ADDOU SAID HE EXPLAINED TO SIAD WHY IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE FOR WASHINGTON TO PROVIDE SOMALIA WITH US ARMS EITHER DIRECTLY OR THROUGH THIRD COUNTRIES AT PRESENT TIME GIVEN ETHIOPIAN WAR. HE SAID US UNWILLINGNESS TO SUPPLY WEAPONS DURING CURRENT FIGHTING DID NOT RPT NOT MEAN US WAS RENEGING ON PROMISE TO PROVIDE DEFENSIVE ARMS. HABIB AND OTHERS HAD ASSURED HIM THAT US COMMITMENT WAS AS FIRM AS EVER (STATE 199070).

3. ADDOU SAID THAT HE HAD URGED SIAD NOT TO REACT TOO NEGATIVELY BUT TO CONSIDER CAREFULLY US POSITION. ADDOU SAID THAT BY THEIR SECOND MEETING AUGUST 25, SIAD HAD SWALLOWED HIS DISAPPOINTMENT AND WAS READY TO DISCUSS ALTERNATIVE WAYS IN WHICH US MIGHT ASSIST IN HIS PRESENT NEED EVEN IF US UNWILLING TO PROVIDE IMMEDIATE ARMS HELP.

4. SIAD TOLD ADDOU THAT SOMALI SITUATION CRITICAL AT PRESENT. SOVIET UNION PROVIDING MASSIVE MILITARY SUPPORT FOR ETHIOPIA.  
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PAGE 03 STATE 212399

WEAPONS ARRIVING DAILY AT ASSAB. MORE OMINOUSLY, SOME 5,000 TO 15,000 CUBANS NOW IN ETHIOPIA TO ASSIST MENGISTU REGIME IN FIGHTING. WHEN ADDOU TOLD SIAD THAT HE HAD DISCUSSED CUBAN PRESENCE WITH HABIB IN WASHINGTON BUT HAD PUT FIGURE AT SEVERAL HUNDRED, NOT THOUSANDS, SIAD TOLD HIM HE HAD MADE ERROR: BETWEEN 5,000 AND 15,000 CUBANS NOW IN ETHIOPIA. (FYI: IN FACT, ADDOU TOLD HABIB THERE WERE SOME 2,200 CUBANS IN ETHIOPIA. END FYI) ACCORDING TO ADDOU, THIS LATEST INTELLIGENCE HAD BEEN PROVIDED SIAD THROUGH GSDR EMBASSY AT ADEN AND SOMALI INTELLIGENCE IN ETHIOPIA, WHICH HE CLAIMED HAD PENETRATED ETHIOPIAN SERVICES.

5. SIAD THEN TOLD ADDOU THAT THERE WERE THREE THINGS US COULD DO AT PRESENT TO ASSIST SOMALIA:

- A. US COULD ENCOURAGE THIRD COUNTRIES -- EGYPT AND MOROCCO -- TO PROVIDE SOMALIA WITH NON-US ORIGIN ARMAMENTS AND SPARE PARTS.
- B. US COULD MAKE STATEMENT OF INDIRECT POLITICAL SUPPORT BY NOTING THAT US WOULD NOT VIEW WITH INDIFFERENCE FOREIGN TROOP PRESENCE IN ETHIOPIA.
- C. AS QUICKLY AS PRACTICABLE (BUT NOT BEFORE CESSATION OF

ETHIOPIAN HOSTILITIES), US COULD PROVIDE TANGIBLE EVIDENCE OF ITS COMMITMENT TO HELP SOMALIA WITH DEFENSIVE ARMS.

6. THIRD COUNTRY ARMS: ADDOU SAID THAT SIAD HAD ASKED THAT US SPECIFICALLY ENCOURAGE EGYPT TO HELP PROVIDE SOMALIA WITH ARMS AND SPARE PARTS DURING CURRENT EMERGENCY. HE SUGGESTED THAT US COULD SOMEHOW PROVIDE ASSURANCE TO CAIRO THAT GOE WOULD NOT BE ATTACKED DURING THIS PERIOD -- A FATUOUS SUGGESTION -- AND THAT ARMS AND SPARE PARTS SHIPMENT COULD GO FORWARD. MOROCCO COULD ALSO BE ASKED TO SUPPLY ARMS OF NON-US ORIGIN. SIAD SAID SUCH HELP NEEDED WITHIN WEEK OR TEN DAYS.

7. STATEMENT OF POLITICAL SUPPORT: ADDOU SAID THAT  
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PAGE 04 STATE 212399

SIAD HAD ORIGINALLY SUGGESTED THAT US MAKE PUBLIC STATEMENT TO EFFECT THAT IF SOVIET UNION SENT ITS FORCES OR ADVISORS TO JOIN ETHIOPIANS IN RESISTING WSLF, US WOULD ALSO COMMIT ITSELF. ADDOU CLAIMS HE TOLD SIAD THIS WAS IMPOSSIBLE IN POST-VIETNAM PERIOD. BEST US COULD DO WOULD BE TO MAKE STATEMENT THAT IT COULD NOT LOOK ON WITH INDIFFERENCE AT INTRODUCTION OF FOREIGN TROOPS IN ETHIOPIA AND SIAD AGREED THAT THIS WOULD BE USEFUL, ESPECIALLY IN WARNING MOSCOW AND HAVANA THAT THEY MUST KEEP THEIR ADVISORS OR FORCES OUT OF ETHIOPIA.

8. DEFENSIVE ARMS: SIAD ALSO TOLD ADDOU THAT HE NEEDED SOME TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT US WAS GENUINE IN ITS PROMISE TO PROVIDE SOMALIA WITH DEFENSIVE ARMS. HE TOLD ADDOU THAT SOMALIA'S NATIONAL SURVIVAL WAS AT STAKE AND THAT HE MUST HAVE SOME TANGIBLE EVIDENCE THAT US MEANS WHAT IT SAYS WHEN IT PROMISED TO HELP SOMALIA WITH ITS DEFENSIVE MILITARY NEEDS. TO DATE, HE HAD NOTHING TO GIVE CREDENCE TO THAT PROMISE. ADDOU SAID THAT WHILE SIAD UNDERSTOOD WHY US COULD NOT PROVIDE WEAPONS NOW, HE DESPERATELY NEEDED SOME TANGIBLE PROOF OF US MILITARY AID AND HE HOPED THAT THIS WOULD BE PROVIDED AS QUICKLY AS CIRCUMSTANCES IN ETHIOPIA PERMITTED.

9. IN CONCLUSION, ADDOU TOLD ME THAT SIAD HAD ASKED THAT THESE REQUESTS BE PASSED DIRECTLY TO ME. ACCORDING TO ADDOU, SIAD INTENDED TO SUMMON ME TO PRESIDENCE TO DISCUSS RESULTS AFTER WASHINGTON HAD BEEN GIVEN TIME TO RESPOND.

10. I TOLD ADDOU THAT I WAS VERY SKEPTICAL OF ANY REPORTS ALLEGING THAT 5,000 TO 15,000 CUBANS NOW IN ETHIOPIA. OUR INFORMATION CERTAINLY CONTRADICTED SOMALI ALLEGATIONS. WE DIDN'T BELIEVE THAT THERE WERE MORE THAN SEVERAL HUNDRED CUBANS IN ETHIOPIA AT MOST. MY DISCLAIMER DREW FROM ADDOU  
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PAGE 05 STATE 212399

AN ELABORATE RATIONALE OF ACCURACY OF SOMALI INTELLIGENCE RESOURCES, ESPECIALLY RELIABILITY OF SOMALI EMBASSY IN ADEN, WHOSE OFFICERS HAD WATCHED CUBANS AT AIRPORT EMBARK FOR ADDIS, ASSAB AND MASSAWA (SIC). IT WAS OBVIOUS THAT ADDOU WAS NOT TO BE PERSUADED THAT OUR INFORMATION SUPERIOR TO HIS. NEVERTHELESS I REMAIN SCEPTICAL OF THESE FIGURES.

11. COMMENT: IF I AM CONVOKED BY SIAD, ITHINK MOST I CAN DO IS REAFFIRM OUR COMMITMTENT IN PRINCIPLE TO HELP SOMALIA MEET ITS DEFENSIVE MILITARY NEEDS. I CAN ALSO REITERATE OUR POLICY CONCERNING FOREIGN TROOP INVOLVEMENT IN AFRICA, BE IT ANGOLA OR ETHILPIA. THIS IS A POLICY WHICH ANTEDATES BY SOME TIME THE CURRENT ETHIOPIAN-SOMALI CRISIS. I CAN ALSO POINT OUT ENCOURAGEMENT US GAVE TO OTHER NATIONS TO ASSIST SOMALIA WITH ITS ARMS NEEDS PRIOR TO ESCALATION OF SPORADIC OGADEN INSURGENCY TO FULL-SCALE WAR. BUT I DOUBT THAT I CAN GO BEYOND THIS, UNLESS WASHINGTON PERCEIVES IN OCCASION AN OPPORTUNITY TO ORCHESTRATE A MORE POSITIVE RESPONSE FOR SAKE OF KEEPING DOOR MORE CONSPICUOUSLY OPEN. PERHAPS I COULD GIVE HIM BENEFIT OF US VIEW OF ETHIOPIAN SITUATION WITHOUT HISTRIONICS AND WITHOUT DISTORTION. ABOVE ALL, MY MEETING WITH SIAD SHOULD BE AN OPPOURTUNITY FOR CANDOUR ON BOTH SIDES. PLEASE ADVISE.  
LOUGHRAP

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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